A

LETTER

TO A

FRIEND,

Concerning a

FRENCH INVASION,

To Reſtore the

Late King JAMES to his Throne,

AND

What may be Expected from him, ſhould he be Succeſsful in it.

By William Sherlock

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A LETTER TO A FRIEND, &c.

SIR,

IN your laſt you ſeem much concern'd about the *French* Invaſion, and deſirous to know what I think may probably be expected from the late King, ſhould he prove ſo ſucceſsful, as to recover his Throne; and what *Engliſh* Subjects are bound in Conſcience to do, ſhould he land in *England*, and demand his Right.

The laſt is a material Queſtion, but I wonder how you came to ask the Firſt, as if it could be any Queſtion what the Late King will do, if he were reſtor'd by Power to his Crown: For I think it paſt all doubt, that he will do as he did before: only in all probability a great deal worſe: And you remember how that was; for *Arbitrary Power* and *Popery* are of too great Concernment, and have left too frightful an impreſſion behind them, to be ſo ſoon forgot; and this will go a great way towards an anſwer to your ſecond Queſtion, unleſs you think we are bound to take King *James*, and a *French Government*, and a *French Popery* with him; which I ſhall not eaſily be perſwaded to; and, I believe, there are not many *Engliſh Proteſtants* will.

But to anſwer your Queſtions diſtinctly. As to the *Firſt*, When we ſee what the late King *James* has done, what reaſon have we to expect, that ſhould he return with power, he would ever do otherwiſe? Is he more oblig'd now by his Proteſtant Subjects, than he was before? Can he make fairer promiſes, than he did before? Is he leſs

Zealous for Popery, or grown more out of Conceit with Arbitrary Power? Or will he be leſs able to make himſelf Arbitrary, and ſet up Popery when he returns a Conquerour? For I take it for granted he muſt conquer firſt, becauſe King *William* won't abdicate nor ſteal away, and the Power that Conquers, will give Laws and Religion to the Conquer'd.

I know there are two Things pretended as Foundation for better hopes. *Firſt*, That the late King is now ſenſible t at the *Engliſh* Nation will never bear *Popery*, nor *Arbitrary Power*, and that he has ſuffered ſo much by theſe attempts already, that he will never venture the like again. *Secondly*, The great Merits of the *Nonſwearing* Clergy and Gentry, which will atone for the *Church* of *England*, and make him their ſure and faſt Friend. Patron and Defender, eſpecially if thoſe who have been too forward in complying with the late Revolution, ſhall expiate that Crime by an early Repentance, and a vigorous Aſſiſtance to reſtore him to his Throne.

Firſt, As for the *firſt*, there are oo many anſwers to be giv_ to it, to hinder it from being the leaſt probable ground of Hope; though Hope it ſelf is, *Rei incertæ nomen*, ſo very uncertain, eſpecially when we gueſs only at the Inclinations of Princes, that *Lives* and *Fortunes*, and *Liberties* and *Religion*, are not to be ventur'd on it, againſt former Experience.

But to let that paſs pray conſider what the true Import of this Argument is; for it amounts to this, that all Men will learn by Experience; that Men will not venture on thoſe things a ſecond time, which have proved fatal to them once; that Princes will certainly for ever after diſlike ſuch Councels and Meaſures, as have already ſhaken their Thrones, and made their Crowns fall from their Heads.

Now we may flatter our ſelves with ſuch Hopes as theſe, which may upon ſome account be called reaſonable Hopes, becauſe there is great Reaſon it ſhould be ſo; but yet they ſo often fail, that there is no reaſon to relye upon them. The Repentance of dying Sinners and of undone Prodigals, who return to their old Sins again, if they recover their Health, or find new Treaſures to waſte, confutes ſuch expectations. Sufferings rarely cure a vehement Love and fond Paſſion for any thing, which is the Caſe of old habitual Sinners; and no Man can be fonder of any Vice, than ſome Princes are of Unlimited and *Arbitrary* Power.

And when this is joyn'd with a reſolved and inflexible Temper, which ſcorns to yield, and had rather be undone a thouſand times, than one retract, or amend a Fault: Such Misfortunes do but whet Revenge, and make them ſwell as a River does when its Current is ſtopp'd, which flows with a more rapid and foaming Stream, when it has once forced its way.

Eſpecially when Superſtition is the prevailing Ingredient, which fires the

the Spirits, and raises imaginary Scenes of Glory out of the Loss of Crowns and Kingdoms; And what will such a Prince, if he ever recover his Throne and Power, for eit the Glory of loosing his Kingdoms again, by deserting the Cause for which he lost them before? No man can certainly tell how Superstition will *Act*, nor how it will Reason: Especially when the Consciences of Princes are under such Directors, as will venture their Crowns for them over and over, to carry on their own Designs, and know how to Expound Providence to Flatter Superstition. And then the Recovery of his Throne may be made a better *Argument*, and a stronger Obligation to revive and prosecute his old Designs, than the fear of losing it again can be to make him desist.

And to make this yet more demonstrative, with reference to the late King, we ought to consider, That this is not the first Tryal he has had, and that this consideration has done him no good.

He saw before what his Father King *Charles* the first suffered, only for some *Attempts* towards *Arbitrary* Power, and for meer Jealousies and Suspitions of his favouring Popery: He lost his Kingdoms and his Life, and his Sons suffered a long and hard Exile. *Charles* the Second indeed took warning by this, and though possibly he might be big with the same Designs, yet would he not venture too far, nor discover himself too openly, for fear of *Travelling* again, as he used to speak: But King *James* had not Patience to conceal his Inclinations, till he came to the Crown; and that had like to cost him his Crown, before he had it; and yet this was not sufficient to caution him against those violent Methods he afterwards used to advance Popery, which were so seasonably defeated by the happy arrival of our present *Sovereign*, whom God long preserve: And those who are so desirous to try him again in *England*, as they have lately done in *Ireland*, to their full Satisfaction, if they could try only for themselves, should have my free Consent to make the Experiment.

Have not the poor Irish Protestants made it to their Cost, even since this Revolution, from whence, and from the Wisdom he must needs have Learned by it, this miraculous Change in Him is now expected? And did they find any such Change in him, unless for the worse? And yet, if ever, then he was upon his good behaviour, when he wanted their Assistance to secure his Possession of that Kingdom, and to recover his other Dominions. And when, in Reason, it might have been expected, that whatever Resentments he had, he would have thought it his Interest to have treated *Protestants* with greater Tenderness and Respects. But if the Necessity of his own affairs could not obtain this from him, what must *Protestants* expect if he return with Power? And though some *Protestants* here in *England*, seem not to be at all affected with this Experiment, yet it hath made such an impression upon the *Protestants* in *Ireland*, that they are for

ever

ever cured of their Fondneſs, and have not the leaſt Curioſity left to make any further Tryals.

It is pretended indeed, in Excuſe of this, that he was then under the Government of *French* Miniſters and Counſels, and under the Power of *Iriſh* Prieſts and Papiſts, and ſo was not at Liberty to follow his own Inclinations: I ſhould be very glad of a good Argument to prove that he had better Inclinations. But however, what Comfort is this to *Proteſtants*, that he has better Inclinations, but is not his own Maſter? For if he muſt never ſhew any Kindneſs to *Proteſtants*, it is no matter what his Inclinations are: And can any man imagine, That if the *French* King by Force and Power place him on the Throne, he will be leſs under his Government than he was in *Ireland*? The French King, among many other wiſe Maxims, has this. I am ſure, for one, *Never to make a King, without making him his own Vaſſal*; and the Power that can make a King, can make him his Slave: So that it is to no purpoſe to enquire what King *James* will do, but what King *Lewis* will do, if King *James* returns?

Secondly, As for the great Merits of the Non-ſwearing Clergy and Laity, I greatly ſuſpect, that neither the late King *James* nor King *Lewis* will think them ſo great as they themſelves do. Their Merit muſt conſiſt either in their Principles, or in their Practices. And we will briefly conſider both.

Their meritorious Principle is this, That the Rights of Princes, eſpecially of Hereditary Princes, to their Thrones, are ſo Sacred and Inviolable, that as they cannot forfeit them to their own Subjects by any Male-adminiſtration, ſo neither can they by any Provocations, or by any Succeſs of War, forfeit them to any other Princes: That while ſuch a Prince, or any Legal Heir, is living, no other Prince can have any Right to his Throne, nor muſt his Subjects own and ſubmit to any other Prince, as their Soveraign Lord.

Now as much as this Principle ſeems to flatter Princes, and to make their Thrones Eternal, I am apt to ſuſpect, that no Prince, who conſiders the juſt Conſequence of Things, can think it ſo very meritorious; for it is a very dangerous Principle to Weak and Unfortunate Princes, and an intollerable Reſtraint upon the Aſpiring and Ambitious. It is Dangerous to the Unfortunate, becauſe it lays a Neceſſity upon the Conquerour to take away his Life, if he can, as well as his Throne, ſince he cannot loſe his Throne without loſing his Life; tho' moſt Princes would rather chuſe to have them parted, than loſe both together: And how do they think King *Lewis* will like this Principle, which ſtands in the way of his Glory, and preaches Reſtitution to him of all thoſe Dominions whoſe legal Heirs are living; which teaches the Subjects of other Princes to deny him Fealty and Obedience, and to Conſpire with their Legal Princes againſt him. I doubt not but he likes the Principle as little as he would like the Practice;

ctice; and that our Non-Swearers would quickly understand, were they the Subjects of his New Conquests, which God grant *England* may never be.

Indeed, how great a Complement soever this Principle may be thought to Princes, it can have no Merit, because, tho' it may in some Junctures do them hurt, it never did, and never can do them any service. It never yet hindred a Revolution, and never can make one; and the reason is plain, because no Princes, and very few Subjects do believe it, and practice upon it. If a Prince have a just Cause of War against another Prince, he makes no Scruple, if he Conquers, to take his Crown; and the Subjects of such a conquered Prince make no Scruple of Conscience to submit to the Conquerour; tho' sometimes a Personal Kindness for a Just and Indulgent Prince, and a Concernment for their own Liberties and Fortunes, may make them uneasie under it, and glad of the first Opportunity to do themselves and their Prince Right.

The Truth is, Princes have no Reason to like this Principle; for were it true, they could have no Remedies against the Injuries of Neighbour Princes; they might indeed Fight and Conquer; but they had better let it alone, if they must not take the Throne which their Sword has won; for it is only the fear of Conquest, and losing their Crowns when they are Conquered, that can keep Princes in awe, and bring them to Just and Equal Terms; and if no Prince must lose his Crown, because no Prince must take it, it will be impossible to beat an Injurious and Obstinate Prince into good Terms; and I believe Princes will as soon be perswaded, That it is Unlawful to make War, as that it is Unlawful to seiz a Conquer'd Crown; and will think one as meritorious a Principle as the other.

And it is certain Subjects have less Reason to like this Principle, because it makes them Slaves and Sacrifices even to the Misfortunes of their Prince. A Prince, when he is Conquer'd, or sees that he must be Conquer'd, may escape by Flight, but a whole Nation cannot run away: and if they could, have no reason to leave their Countrey and their Fortunes behind them: And yet, according to this Principle, they must not submit, nor swear Allegiance to the Conquerour, while the Prince who has forsaken them lives, tho' they cannot secure their Lives and Fortunes without it. But Nature and Common Sence is too powerful for the Sophistry of such Principles, and those who cannot Reason, can see what they are to do in such Cases. The loyalest Subjects, when no Personal Obligations, or secret Interests determine them otherwise, will save themselves by Submission, when they cannot defend their Prince by their Arms; and do not think they do ill in it: And I suppose Princes do not think so neither, because they expect the same from the Subjects of other Princes in the like Circumstances; and such an Universal Consent both of Princes

ces and Subjects, when there is no Law of God or nature againſt it, makes it a ſtanding Law in all Revolutions which both Princes and Subjects muſt ſubmit too. So that this Principle, were it never ſo true, can do no Service, and therefore can have no Merit in this World, becauſe there are ſo few that believe it; that they are not hands enough either to keep a Prince on his Throne, or to reſtore him to it. All our *Nonſwearers* could not hinder the late Revolution, nor can they make another: They are enow to make a noiſe, eſpecially if the Loud and Zealous Ladies of that ſide be reckoned in; but other Hands and other Pretences muſt do their work, if ever they hope to ſee it done; and then no thanks to their Principles for it. Whatever reward their future Services may deſerve, Princes themſelves will not think that their Principles deſerve any.

Let us then now conſider the Merit of their Actions, and what Opinion the *Late King* is like to have of that, if he ſhould return.

I ſuppoſe, they will be contented he ſhould forget their Merits towards him, while he was on the Throne; eſpecially about reading his Declaration; as likewiſe their *Tower* and their *Weſtminſter*-Hall Merits; which were indeed very great, and did deſerve and would have had a better Reward from a better Hand, had they not rendered themſelves incapable of it. But ſure they don't expect the *Late King* ſhould Reward them for ſuch Services. He knew that this raiſed that general diſcontent, which occaſioned that General Revolt, which coſt him three Crowns. And if all their Merits can Expiate this Guilt, they come off well; and thoſe had need be very Extraordinary Merits, which have firſt ſo great a Guilt to Expiate, before they can pretend to Merit. Could their Nonſwearing reſtore him to his Throne again, it would but juſt undo what they had done, which is no more than their Duty, and therefore cannot Merit, no not ſo much as a Pardon, though it may make them capable of it, if they fall into merciful Hands. But ſtill there are Four Years Exile, and the loſs of Three Crowns, and the Expence of ſo much Blood and Treaſure; the Diſhonour of ſo many Defeats, and the Ruine of *Ireland* to be accounted for; and how can they make Reſtitution for all this? Which yet they muſt do before they can lay Claim to Merit.

Let all this be forgot, for it is their Intereſt it ſhould be; but they are very ſanguine Men, if they hope it will. Whence then will they date their *Merits*?

When it was certainly known, that the *Prince* of *Orange*, now our Gracious Soveraign, was ready to Land, they ſeemed as well pleaſed with it as other Men; and refuſed, when they were preſſed to it by the *Late King*, to declare their Abhorence of it; but, inſtead of that, took upon them to give him advice, and to publiſh it when they had done: In which advice they recommended almoſt every Particular of the Prince's *Declaration*, complained of the ſame abuſes, and adviſed

viſed the Calling of a Parliament to redreſs them; as if the Prince's Declaration, and their advice had been drawn by the ſame Pen, and the *Advice* had been publiſhed on purpoſe to ſecond the *Declaration*. This, I ſuppoſe, they will not reckon among their Merits neither: And if they can excuſe what was ſo haſtily done at *Guildhall*, before the *Late King* was gone out of the Land, they may very well be contented no more ſhould be ſaid of that.

The only Merit then they have to pretend, is their refuſing the Oath of Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and forfeiting their Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, or Military Preferments for it; But what is this to the late King? Is this done out of kindneſs to him or his Government? Would they not have been contented to have lived Peaceably and Quietly, as they themſelves profeſſed, could they have kept their Preferments, and have been excuſed from the New Oaths? And how do they merit of him, by refuſing the Oaths with the Loſs of their Preferments, if they did it not for his ſake, but for another and better Reaſon, for fear of being Damned? God may Reward this, but King *James* is not beholden to them. Will they be better Subjects hereafter? Will they read his Declaration when he Returns? Will they make his Will their Law? Will they ſubmit to his next Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, and give up their Colledges and Churches to Prieſts and Jeſuites? Will they be content to take him the very ſame Man that he went away, and to ſerve him in his own way? Will they no more fill the Nation with the Noiſe and Fears of Popery and *Arbitrary* Power? Will they turn Papiſts themſelves, or ſtand by patiently, and give leave to his Prieſts to pervert Proteſtants as faſt as they can? Will they promiſe to demean themſelves with more reſpect towards the King's Religion, and to leave off their old ſawcineſs of Printing and Preaching againſt Popery? This indeed would bid fair for Merit. but if they oppoſe his *Methods* of Government, and his Glorious Deſigns, as much as they do King *William*'s Right; if it be only a Title they boggle at, if this be all that makes them uneaſie at the Change, their not Swearing does him no Service; He could have kept his Kingdoms upon theſe Terms before, but he ſcorn'd it, and ſo he will thoſe, who to ſalve their Conſciences or their Honours, and to recover their Preferments, would have him upon theſe terms again.

As much as ſome Men glory in their ſteddineſs to Principles, which is certainly a very Honourable thing; and an excellent degree of Virtue, when the Principles are plain and certain, yet few Princes (to be ſure, not the late King) like ſuch a ſted-

dineſs to Principles as oppoſes their Deſigns; a ſtubborn inflexible Conſcience, is a very Unruly Thing; and Kings do not like ſuch Subjects as dare oppoſe a King upon the Throne, whatever the Cauſe be. So that I ſuſpect, their very Boldneſs and Reſolution in oppoſing their preſent Majeſties upon a meer point of Law, will be thought no Vertue fit to be rewarded by a Prince, who would make his Will Superiour to all Laws.

And if the Merit of the Non-Swearers is likely to vaniſh into nothing; eſpecially when there is no occaſion any longer to court and flatter them, and Prieſts and Jeſuites have free liberty to comment on their Merits; what Merit will thoſe Men have to plead, who were forward and zealous in the Revolution, have Sworn Allegiance to their preſent Majeſties, have ſerved them in their Armies and Navies at Home and Abroad? There is no doubt but they ſhall have fair Promiſes and good Words at preſent, and ſhall be remembred hereafter, when there is occaſion.

But ſuppoſe the Merits of the Non-Swearing or For-Swearing Clergy and Laity, who will help forwards another Revolution, ſhould be acknowledged to be very great; what probability is there, that the Church of *England* ſhould fair ever the better for it, when Popery and Arbitrary Power ſtand in the way? Paſt Experience gives no great Encouragement to hope this. King *Lewis* was as much obliged to his Proteſtant Subjects of *France*, as it is poſſible for any King to be; for they ſet the Crown upon his Head; and how he has Rewarded them, all the World rings of it. The Late King was not much leſs beholden to the Church of *England*, when they ſo vigorouſly oppoſed the BILL OF EXCLUSION; and how he alſo Rewarded them, we all lately Saw and Felt. And ſhall Proteſtants, after this, think of Obliging ſuch Princes by their Merits? They underſtand better, that Merit is no Proteſtant Doctrine, and that there can be none out of the Church of *Rome*. And why ſhould any Body expect that which cannot be. Nay, ſhould the late King return again, and be as much at the Devotion of his Non-Swearing Friends, as they promiſe themſelves he will be; I very much doubt what the Church of *England* will gain by this. If we may gueſs at the Spirit of the Party, by the bitter Zeal which inſpires all their Writings, I can expect nothing from them, but as fierce a Perſecution of the Church of *England*, as ever it ſuffered from Papiſts or Fanaticks, excepting *Smithfield* Fires, which poſſibly may be exchang'd for *Tyburn*. All who live in the Communion of the Church of *England*

land, as now Established, are in their Account and constant Language, no better than Hereticks and Schismaticks, and Perjured Apostates, much greater Crimes then the *Traditores* were guilty of, which was the only pretence for the *Donatist* Schism and Persecution. They seem to comfort themselves under their present Sufferings, more with the sweet hopes of Revenge, than any great expectations of future Rewards; that they shall live to see the *Swearing Bishops and Priests the Contempt of Princes and People*; for if the Archbishop of *York*, who is particularly named, cannot escape them, I doubt they will make but very few Exceptions. *Apol. for the Non Separat.*

And is not this a great Encouragement to any who have complied with the present Governments, to help these men to Power again? Must not the Nobility and Gentry expect their share of Vengeance as well as the Clergy? And is not the Church of *England* then in a hopeful state, which must be Purged and Reformed into *Jacobite* Principles, and by a *Jacobite* Spirit.

These are all very sensible Proofs (as far as we can reason about such matters) how little good is to be expected from the Return of the Late King with a French Power: He must return the same Man he went, and then Popery and *Arbitrary* Power must return with him: Nay, he must return much worse than he went, because he must return more a Vassal to *France*, which I suppose will not mend the Condition of English Subjects, during his Reign.

These things ought to be well consider'd; for if his Government was so uneasie before, and gave us such a frightful Prospect, as made the Nation very willing to part with him, when he thought fit to leave them; it would seem very strange to by-standers, should they now grow fond of his Return; when it is certain if he does return, and returns by the Methods now intended, Popery and Arbitrary Power must be more Triumphant than ever.

He wanted nothing but Power to make himself Absolute, and to make us all *Papists*, or *Martyrs*, or *Refugees*; and that he will now have: For if a French Power can Conquer us, it will make him as *Absolute* as the French King will let him be; or, to speak properly, it will make him, though not an Absolute Prince, yet an *Absolute Vice-Roy*, and Minister of *France*: He will *Administer* an *Absolute* Power and Government, under the Influence and Direction of French Councels: *And* then we know what will become of the Liberties and Religion of *England*. *And* have we so long disdained the thoughts of Subjection to *France*? Has a French League been thought such a National Grievance? Has the pre-

tence of a War with *France*, been found such an excellent Expedient to get Money of *English Parliaments*? Has the Expectation of it fired English Spirits, and upon occasion filled our *Armies* and *Navies*, without need of Pressing or Beat of Drum? Have we so detested the *French Cruelties* to *Protestants*? And shall we now so willingly stoop to the Yoak, & think it a great favour that they will vouchsafe to conquer us? Let us never complain hereafter that our Chains pinch and gall us, when we our selves are ready with so much joy and thankfulness to put them on. And whatever some fancy, they will find it a very easie and natural thing, for the Late King, if he return by Force and Power, to make himself Absolute by Law; Princes always gain new Powers by the ineffectual opposition of Subjects: If they lose their Crowns, and recover them again, they receive them with an addition of some brighter Jewels, and turn disputed Prerogatives into Legal and undoubted Rights. Thus we know it was when King *Charles* II. return'd from a long Exile, all the New *Acts* and *Declarations* were made in favour of the Crown, and Subjects bound to their good Behaviour, as fast as Laws could bind them; for in all such Revolutions, those who suffered with or for their Prince, return with Zeal and Resentment; and take care in the first place to Establish all such Prerogatives of the Crown, as were disputed before, and to grant such new Powers as they think are wanting. And others there are, always forward to make their Fortunes by Complementing the returning Prince; and to expiate their former Crimes by a forward and flaming Loyalty; and the rest are over-aw'd and frighted into a compliance; and thus it is commonly seen, that between Zeal, and Flattery, and Fear, the King increases in Power, and the People forfeit their Liberties, and we must not expect that it should be otherwise now, should the Late King return.

The first Complement that must be made to him, is a *Jacobite Parliament*, and God knows what such a Parliament will do! Will they deny him a Toleration for Papists, the Repeal of the *Test*, the Forfeitures, or Surrenders of Charters, and a new Regulation of Corporations? Will they dispute, nay will they not declare his Dispensing Power, and approve his *Ecclesiastical Commissions*? Will they make any scruple to declare the Legitimacy of the *Prince of Wales*, or to leave the manner of his Education to those who will certainly breed him up in Popery? Will they not take care for new *Jacobite Tests* to renounce and abhor all the several *Hypotheses* and *Principles* of Government, which have been urged to justifie our Submission and Allegiance to their present Majesties? And when they have done this, how easie will it be for a down-right *Popish Parliament*, which will be the next step that will be made, to do all the rest.

It

It is very evident what advantages the Prieſts and Jeſuites will hav in ſuch a Juncture to make Proſelytes, while the People are in a fright, and grown giddy with ſuch frequent Revolutions; & thoſe who in the late Reign were the great *Advocates* of the Proteſtant Cauſe, are diſgrac'd at Court, threatned into ſilence, their *Authority* vveakned, and their Perſons reproach'd both by *Papiſts* and *Jacobites*. Numbers of Converts vvas their great want before, and the Preſs and the Pulpit their great hindrance; but *Jacobites* vvill by natural inſtinct learn more Loyalty; and others vvill be taught it, as *Gideon* taught the men of *Succoth*, vvith Briars and Thorns. *And* there never vvas ſuch an opportunity ſince the Reformation for a plentiful Harveſt of Converts, as this vvould be like to prove. *And* vvho can bear the thoughts of this, vvho has any Compaſſion for the Souls of Men, any Zeal for the Church of *England*, or any Concern to preſerve and propagate the true Faith and Worſhip of Chriſt to Poſterity?

All this is upon a ſuppoſition of the Late Kings Return, vvhich I declare to you I am not affraid of, tho' it is fit to mind thoſe men vvho are ſo fond of it, what they may reaſonably expect, if he ſhould Return; vvhich poſſibly may abate their Zeal in this Cauſe, and that may prevent the miſchiefs of an Attempt; for without a hopeful Conſpiracy in *England*, the *French* King is too wary to make ſuch an Attempt.

But if they have any love to their Countrey, any pity left in them for the lives and fortunes of Engliſh *Proteſtants*, I beſeech them to conſider what the Calamities and Deſolations of Civil War vvill be; for that it muſt end in, if there be an Invaſion from abroad ſtrengthned with a powerful Conſpiracy at home: King *William*, as I ſaid before, will not Deſert or Abdicate; for *I* never heard of a Prince who had ventured ſo much to reſcue a Kingdom out of ſo great a danger, that would ſo eaſily expoſe it again to the ſame, or a greater danger: *And* ſurely the late King does not expect he ſhould, for he knows him too well: So that if they look for ſuch another Revolution, to turn King *William* out, as brought him in, they will in all probability, be miſtaken. There are too many Perſons of Honour and Fortune engaged in this Cauſe, who know the late King too well to take his Word; and were it poſſible to wheedle men of Fortune and Senſe, the Genius and Spirit of the Nation is againſt them: *And* that which could make the late Revolution, will probably be able to prevent this.

It muſt then come to Blows, if an attempt be made; and the fortune of one Battel may not decide it; and thoſe who are too young to remember the Deſolations which the late Civil Wars in *England* made, let them look into *Ireland*, and ſee to what a heap of rubbiſh a *flouriſhing and fruitful Countrey* is reduc'd, by being the Scene of a Three Years War.

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It is made a popular pretence to raiſe Diſcontents, and to make people diſaffected to the preſent Government, that the Taxes for maintaining this War are grown ſo intollerable, and there is no proſpect of an end of them: Now I muſt confeſs, that the Taxes fall very heavy upon ſome, and am ſorry that the preſent poſture of our Affairs does require it, and that there can be no eaſier way found to ſupply the plain and preſſing Neceſſities of the State: But we ought to conſider, that ſtill all this is infinitely eaſier than *Popery* and *French* Slavery, if we regard only our Eſtates. The annual exactions of the Church of *Rome*, (beſides all the cheating Ways their Prieſts had to get Money,) while Popery was the Religion of *England*, uſed to be complained of as a National Grievance, and a heavier Tax upon the Subject than all the King's Revenues: And if thoſe who complain of our Taxes, were but one Month in *France*, to ſee the Poverty and Miſery which the French Government has brought upon them, they would come home very well contented to pay Taxes, and to fight againſt the French too. We are Free Subjects, not Slaves; we are taxed by our own Repreſentatives, who tax themſelves as well as us; and this not by the Arbitrary Will of the Prince. We pay for our own Defence and Preſervation, as all people ought to do; and while we do not pay near ſo much as our Religion, and Lives, and Liberties are worth, and have left wherewithal to maintain our ſelves, we have no ſuch great reaſon to complain.

But how heavy ſoever Taxes are, are they like a Civil War? Like the dreadful terrors of an Enemies Army, or of our own? Are they like having our Houſes filled with Soldiers; or which is worſe, burnt or plundered? Are they like loſing our Friends, our Fathers, Husbands, or Children; by whoſe kindneſs or labours we ſubſiſted? In a word, Are they like the Spoils of Harveſt, or the Deſolation of a whole Country.

And can we be contented to ſee *England* again the Seat of War? It is certain in our preſent circumſtances it cannot be made ſo, unleſs we our ſelves pleaſe: *France* has too many Enemies, to think of Conquering *England* without Factions at home; and were it not for them, we need not fear its united Force; and I hope conſidering men, of what Perſwaſion ſoever they be, will not think it worth the while to ruin their Country by a Civil War, to purchaſe a French Slavery and Popery; two very dear things, could we purchaſe them never ſo cheap.

What I have ſaid hitherto, concerns only *England*; but it becoms us to look a little abroad, and conſider, what a fatal Influence a *French* Conqueſt of *England* will have upon the Affairs of all *Europe*. That it is not mere Juſtice and Honour that makes the *French* King eſpouſe the

the Cause of the late King *James*, his Encroachments and Usurpations on his Neighbours will witness. He has no scruples of Conscience about the Rights of other Princes; all he can get is his own. But *England* was formerly a Friend and Confederate, at least, not an Enemy; and now the Power of *England*, (which the *French* have never had reason to despise) is in the hands of a King, who owes the *French King* a good turn, and will not, I hope, dye in his debt. This checks his ambitious designes; gives life and spirit to the Confederacy; threatens to make him restore what he has taken, and what he keeps by meer force and violence, and to reduce him within his antient Bounds, and to the antient Constitution of the *French* Government; and he knows while King *William* possesses the English Throne, and keeps up the Confederacy, he must not expect to get much more, and may be in constant danger of losing what he has gotten.

This makes the French King so concerned to restore the late King *James* to the Throne of *England*, to get rid of a Formidable Enemy, and to strengthen himself with the Alliance of a Powerful Friend; for *England* will probably turn the Scales, on which side soever it happens to be: And there is no doubt, but the Arms of *England* must be devoted to the service of *France*, if a French Power should place the late King in his Throne again; and let any English Protestant who can think cooly of things, consider what a malignant aspect this would have upon the Liberties of *Europe*, and on the whole Protestant Interest.

The Arms or the Money of *France*, has hitherto been an equal Match, at least for all the Confederates; while he has found other employment for the *Imperial* and *English* Forces; but thanks be to God, the King of *England*, and the English Forces are now at leisure to attend his Motions; those Forces which beat him at the *Boyn*, at *Athlone*, at *Aghrim* at *Lymrick*; in a word, which beat him out of *Ireland*, and have now got a habit of beating the *French*: And it is no wonder that he is not fond of such company in *Flanders*, but endeavours to find some new work for them at home. And if he can but send them home again, and embroyl us in a Civil War, that is one great point gained; but if he proves successful in his Attempt, he makes *England* his own, and will turn their Arms upon the Confederates; and what can then stand in his way? What should hinder him from being the sole and absolute *Monarch* of the *West*? And then it is easie to read the Fate of *Protestants*.

Thus, *Sir*, I have freely told you, what I apprehend will be the necessary and unavoidable effects of a *French* Conquest. I pretend not

to

to propheſie, nor to demonſtration in ſuch caſes; but what I have ſaid has all the appearances of probabilit, all the d grees of moral certainty that any thing of this nature can have; and that is the only Rule in theſe matte s by which wiſe men are to judge and act.

And this has prepared a plain and eaſie Anſwer to your *Second* Queſtion, What *Engliſh* Subjects are bound in Conſcience to do, in ca e the la e King ſhould land in *E gland* with *French* Forces to demand his Crown.

Now there are two ſorts of perſons concerned in this queſtion: 1. Thoſe who have not ſworn Allegiance to King *Wi.liam* and Queen *Mary*, but account the late King *James* as much their King, as he was when he ſat upon the Throne; and that their obligations to him are the ſame now that ever they were. 2. Thoſe who have ſworn Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary*. And there are two parts of this Queſtion; 1. Whether they are bound in Conſcience to aſſiſt the late King, if he return? 2. Whether it be law.ul for them to oppoſe him, and fight againſt him?

As for the firſt part of this Queſtion, and as far as it concerns the *Non-ſwearers*, I ſhall ask them two or three Queſtions, and leave them to anſvver them themſelves.

1. The Firſt Queſtion is, Whether they can think themſelves bound in conſcience, upon any pretence vvhatever, to fight for Popery againſt the Proteſtant Faith and Worſhip; that is (as they muſt confeſs, if they are Proteſtants) to fight for Hereſie and Idolatry againſt the true Faith and Worſhip of Chriſt; or to fight for *Antichriſt*, and againſt Chriſt? can any conſideration make this lavvful? If nothing can) as I will venture to take it for granted, that nothing can) then whatever duty they may fancy they ſtill owe to their Abdicated Prince, it cannot be their Duty to fight for him, when they cannot fight for him, without fighting againſt Chriſt and his Religion; though they muſt not fight againſt their Prince for Chriſt, becauſe Chriſt in ſuch caſes requires his Diſciples to ſuffer, not to fight for him; yet it does not follow, that they muſt fight for their Prince againſt Chriſt, to bring a Perſecution upon his faithful Diſciples, and to contribute what they can to extirpate the Name and the Religion of *Proteſtants* out of *Europe*.

Do they think themſelves bound in Conſcience to fight for their Prince, againſt the Laws and Liberties of their Countrey, as well as againſt the Faith and Worſhip of Chriſt? Let the Rights of Princes be never ſo Sacred, have the reſt of Mankind no Rights, but only Princes? Is there no ſuch thing as Juſtice due to our ſelves, nor to our Fellow-Subjects? Have the Free-born Subjects of *England*, no Natural, no Legal Rights? And is there any Law of God or Man, to fight for our Prince, againſt the Laws and Liberties of our Countrey, which are the meaſures and boundaries of that Duty which we

owe

owe to Princes? That is, to fight for our Prince, againſt the Rule of our Duty and Obedience to Princes; when our Prince, and the Laws and Liberties of our Countrey are on contrary ſides, tho' we ſhould grant them (according to their own Principles) that we muſt not fight againſt our Prince for our Laws and Liberties: yet no more muſt we fight for our Prince againſt our Laws and Liberties: It is abundantly enough to be Paſſive in ſuch caſes; but a Nation which fights againſt its own Laws and Liberties, is *Felo deſe*, guilty of the worſt kind of Self-Murder. Can any Engliſh-Man, whatever opinion he has of the late Kings Right, think himſelf bound in Conſcience to maintain his Right, by giving up his Countrey to *France*? To make him King, and all his Subjects *French* Slaves? For can any Prince have more Right to be King of *England*, than the Kingdom of *England* has to be *England*?

Is it not an unaccountable tenderneſs and ſcrupuloſity of Conſcience, to be ſo concerned for any one Prince's Right, as to ſacrifice the Rights and Liberties of all the Princes in *Europe* to his? To ſet him upon the Throne, to drive all other Princes from theirs? We are Citizens of the World, as well as Subjects of *England*, and have our Obligations to Mankind, and to other Princes, as well as to our own; and tho' our Obligation to no one other Prince is ſo great as to our own, yet the Publick good of Mankind, or of a great part of the World, is a more ſacred Obligation, than the particular Intereſt of our own Prince or Countrey; much leſs then can the Right of any particular Prince, be it what it will, ſtand in competition with the Rights and Liberties of our own Countrey, and of all *Europe* beſides.

It is to no more purpoſe to diſpute with men who do not feel the Force of this Argument at the firſt hearing, than to reaſon with blind men about Colours; they have no ſenſe left, nothing but a ſtupid and ſlaviſh Loyalty; all things, tho' never ſo ſacred, muſt give place to this; the care of Religion, the love of their Countrey, their Juſtice and Charity to all Mankind, muſt vail to their ſenſeleſs miſtake of the true meaning of this word *Loyalty*; by which they will needs underſtand an Abſolute Obedience without Limitation or Reſerve; when moſt certainly, it ſignifies no more than Obedience according to Law.

2. I would ask them, What they would think themſelves bound to do in ſuch Caſes, were the late King upon the Throne again? Unleſs they have chang'd their minds (and then they are not ſo ſteady to Principles, as they pretend to be) we may very reaſonably gueſs what they would do, by what they did while he was upon the Throne. It is certain they ſo much diſlik'd his open deſigns of Popery and Arbitrary Power, that they oppoſed him as far as they durſt, and would not fight for him to keep him on the Throne; nay, by their Exam-

ples and Councels, they had ſo influenced the Army, that they would not fight for him neither; and ſo poſſeſs'd the Country, that the *Nobility* and *Gentry* took *Arms*, and declar'd for the *Prince* of *Orange*, which they thought they might very well do, when the *Biſhops* would not declare againſt him. This was then thought conſiſtent enough with the *High-Tory Loyalty*; and yet if they were not then bound to Fight for him to keep him on his Throne, I am at a great loſs to know how it comes to be their duty now to Fight for him to reſtore him to it: He was certainly their King then, and yet they would not Fight for him, no not to defend his Perſon, Crown and Dignity. And tho they call him *their King* ſtill, it is certain he is not *King* of *England*, whatever right they may think he has to be ſo; and therefore to Fight for him now, is not to fight for the King, but to fight to make him King again. But to let that paſs, ſuppoſe him to be their King, ſince they will have him ſo; How do they come to be more obliged to fight for him now he is out of the Throne, than they were to fight for him while he was in it? If they think it their duty to Fight for their King againſt the Religion, the Laws and the Liberties of their Country, it was their duty to have fought for him then; if they do not think this, it cannot be their duty to Fight for him now.

But they did not expect what followed; they deſired to have their Laws and Liberties ſecured, but not that he ſhould loſe his Crown: I belive very few did then expect what followed, no more than they do now conſider what will follow: But ſince he would leave his Crown, Who could help it? For no body took it from him.

3. Let me then ask them another Queſtion; Whether they would think themſelves bound in Conſcience to Fight for him, did they verily believe, that if he recovered his Throne, he would as zealouſly promote *Popery* and *Arbitrary* Power, as he did before? If they ſay they would not, they have been at their *non putaram* once already; a ſecond overſight in the ſame kind, would be worſe than the firſt. If they ſay they would, I give them over, as profeſs'd Enemies to the true Religion, and the Liberties of Mankind.

This I hope may ſatisfie the Nonſwearers, if they will cooly and ſeriouſly conſider it, that they are not bound in Conſcience to Fight for the Late King; nay, that they are as much bound in Conſcience not to Fight for him, as they are bound not to Fight againſt the *Proteſtant* Religion, and Civil Liberties not only of *England*, but of all *Europe*.

2. As for thoſe that have Sworn Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary*; beſides all the former conſiderations, they are under the obligations of an Oath, not to Fight againſt their preſent Majeſties, whoſe ſworn Subjects and *Leigemen* they are. For let them expound Faith and true *Allegiance*, to as low a ſenſe as poſſibly they can, the leaſt that they ever could make of it, is to live *quietly* & *peaceably* under

under their Government; not to attempt any thing againſt their Perſons or Crowns, not to hold any correſpondence with, nor to give any Aſſiſtance to their Enemies; and therefore to countenance a French Invaſion, or to aſſiſt the late King in recovering the Throne which their Majeſties ſo well fill, and which they have ſworn not to diſpoſſeſs them of, muſt be down-right Perjury. If they be ſure that their Oaths to the late King ſtill oblige them, that indeed would make void the Obligation of this ſecond Oath; but then they muſt be guilty of Perjury in taking it, and by the breaking of it will declare to all the World, that they deliberately and wilfully Perjured themſelves when they took it; & let them remember this when they take *Arms* againſt their Majeſties, and let them expect that recompence which they deſerve.

Thoſe who took this only as a Temporary Oath, which obliged them no longer than till the late King ſhould return into *England* again to demand his Crown, are guilty of Perjury, if they keep it no longer than till they have a promiſing opportunity to break it: For this is to mock God, and to deceive the Government by their Oaths: For no man can think that the meaning of the Oath was no more but this, *I do Promiſe and Swear to bear Faith and true Allegiance to King* William *and Queen* Mary, *till I have Power and Opportunity by the Return of King* James *with a French Army, to joyn his Forces, and to Aſſiſt him to Recover his Throne.* Thoſe who will take and keep Oaths at this rate, we muſt leave to God: But nothing is more plain and certain, than that the New Oath of Allegiance obliges all who have taken it, under the guilt of Perjury, at leaſt not to fight for the late King, againſt King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

And here I may very fairly conclude, without entring into a longer diſpute about the lawfulneſs of fighting againſt a Foreign Army, tho' the late King were at the Head of it; for were thoſe who ſcruple this, ſatisfied that they ought not to fight for him, their preſent Majeſties have *Friends* enow, who are very well ſatisfied to fight againſt him, eſpecially bringing along with him the greateſt Enemies both to the *Proteſtant Religion*, and to the *Civil Liberties*, not only of the *Engliſh* Nation, but of all the Kingdoms and States in *Europe*, *France* it ſelf not excepted.

However this Letter is large enough already, and if I find you deſire farther ſatisfaction in this matter, eſpecially about the late King *James's* Declaration, which is lately come to my hands, you may expect a ſpeedy account of it in a Second Letter from

Sir Yours.

F I N I S.